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ABSTRACT

The document reviews the establishment and goals of kibbutzim in Israel and discusses the impact on the second generation of those born in the kibbutz. Israeli kibbutzim, established over 70 years ago, are voluntary, primarily agricultural, collective settlements of community owned property and collective economic production. The collective kitchen, clothing, and child-rearing practices free the mother to pursue full socioeconomic and cultural roles. In the religious kibbutzim children enter collective education at the age of 18 months. They see their parents only on weekends and religious holidays. Their eight to twelve years of schooling consists of knowing the Torah, Prophets, Midrashic literature, the Talmud, humanism, the social sciences, and the English language. The student must also be a specialist either in agriculture or a craft. Military duty begins at age 18. During their collective upbringing children learn self-reliance and that to show emotion is to show selfishness. A result of this upbringing is that when members leave the kibbutz they feel guilty for desiring the pleasures of the outside world. They are also unable to make simple decisions. A recent study indicates that the second generation is more pragmatic and less idealistic than their parents. They aim for a higher standard of living, greater freedom in career choice, and individual success. Women are returning to the traditional role of family caretaker. (Author/KC)

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A VIEW OF COMMUNAL EDUCATION IN COLLECTIVE SOCIETIES AND KIBBUTZIM IN ISRAEL

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A VIEW OF COMMUNAL EDUCATION IN COLLECTIVE SOCIETIES AND KIBBUTZIM IN ISRAEL

J. Howard Tolliver Summer 1979

ABSTRACT

This paper is primarily a historic overview of Kibbutzim in Israel. Kibbutzim in Israel projected a revolutionary image of childrearing of entrusting children to a mother-substitute. Israeli Kibbutzim is over 70 years old, it was voluntary, primarily agricultural collective settlement of community owned property, and collective economic production.

Kibbutizm was inspired by the Zionist dream to form a society free of prejudice that closed the world they had left behind, dedicated to full social and political equility. Kibbutzim contributed one third of the army officers to the military and a disproportionate share of political leaders.

It seemed that the early start in life roles helped the Kibbutznik resolve adolescent conflicts, but in the main, Kibbutzim did not prepare Kibbutzniks to live outside the Kibbutz where they must make decisions. There was no conflict of goals or conflict over curriculum. The system pushed one kind of development while it limited another. One aim was the settling of the land, and creating a working class of human power where men and women would share equally the agricultural and military burden. Another aim was education in isolation from the influences of the non-Kibbitz world.

It is reported that the second generation of Kibbutz born were more pragmatic and less idealistic than their parents. The most recent trend is a consumeristic lifestyle. The current generation is aiming for a higher standard of living, greater freedom of career choices, and individual success. In addition, women are returning to traditional roles of family caretaker and are withdrawing from the role of collective caretakers.

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INTRODUCTION

A CHANGE OF WORLD

Fashions are changing in the sphere.
Oceans are asking wave by wave
What new shapes will be worn next year;
And the mountains, stooped and grave,
Are wondering silently range by range
What if they prove too old for the change.

The little tailors busily sitting
Flashing their shears in rival haste
Won't spare time for prior fitting--
In with the stitches, too late to baste.
They say the reason for doubt has passed
The changes coming are due to last.

Adrienne Cecile Rich

Americanism represents an economic diversity that is no longer alien to other nations, not even to the Israeli Kibbutz. Ultimately, the educational goals in America are the same as in Israel, that is to say, they are basic educational goals for their children.

In search of a new meaning, a new personality, and a new social order, the Israelis had the courage to give up a solid set of values, family child rearing practices, to achieve another, and the establishment of a homeland. It is noteworthy in American's early struggle that they held fast to tradition, and rarely changed for the sake of change. It is imperative that we take a look at an ideology that has (in some Kibbutzim quarters) broken almost all previous philosophical undertakings and in four generations created a new social order that is avant-garde in child rearing and produced a new social order that is relatively free of crime and mental illness.

Ernest Dichter described non-economical orientated cooperation as new ways of living together which requires a change in personality, which cannot be dealt with on a verbal basis due to the superficial nature of reasons, and attitudes. Subsequently, cooperation must be dealt with as a therapeutic problem on the behavioral reality level rather than dealt with as a propagandistic problem. Dichter firmly believes that there is a need for research to show what factors control deep motives of human behavior that cause people to act more frequently on the basis of emotions than on the basis of national considerations. Dicheter as reported in infield (1950) stated that more research is needed inspecific areas of cooperation. What we generally is done in this area is to use sports groups or animal groups in an attempt to explain specific human behavior. A sample of the complexity of human behavior can be fathomed in the citation of Zander and Medow (Human Relations, 1963).

> "When an individual performs a task, he may obtain a score, if he repeatedly works on the same task, he developes an expectation concerning his future score. This is commonly referred to as his level of aspiration. Past research has shown that a person is influenced, when choosing a level of operation, by such matters as his previous score on the task and the achievements of others like himself. He moreover evaluates his performance as a success or a failure by judging it in reference to his level of aspiration, and employs ways of coping with an unexpected level of performance."

Their research showed that the team lowered their aspirations after a poor performance while the individual did not. It may be that Utopia can only exist in Utopia, it may be that Kibbutzim can only exist in Israel, and such research into team behavior as conducted by Zander and Medow may only exist in team efforts.

What is asked of the individual when we ask him to accept the of cooperation? We ask him to give up his values and security to accept an ideaology that is emotionally unfamiliar. Today, we live in emotional distance environments, and from time to time, in cases of emergencies, do approach the notion of cooperation. Few will argue that we do not need more experiences in togetherness. But, togetherness can rarely be achieved until one gains insight into behavior of other people, and into one's own behavior. According to Dichter, we can initiate any kind of therapy that we agree on, and that mass media can help bridge the gap between the sophisticated educator, "the keeper of wisdom," and the privileged few who are the beneficiaries of knowledge (Infield, 1950).

STRUCTURE AND ORIGIN OF COLLECTIVE SOCIETIES IN ISRAEL

The kingdom of Israel had its incipience after the cessation of the reign of King Solomon in 933 B. C.. One hundred and eighty years before the founding of Rome. In 139 B. C. the Israelis were expelled form Rome. This began a series of expulsions from every major city in Europe. In 1492, there was a great expulsion of Israelis from Spain, and from Portugal in 1496. The Israelis did not begin to emerge as a "tolerated" people in Europe until they were permitted to resettle in England in 1655. They were

allowed to become citizens in France in 1791 and were "freed" in Russia by the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Meanwhile, a 39 year old undercurrent of Anti-Semitism was brewing in Germany, culminating in full scale slaughter of Israelis beginning with the seizure of power by the Nationalist Socialist Party in 1933 (Levinger, 1942). But in the meantime, the foundation was being laid by the League of Nations (1920), giving confirmation of British mandate over Palestine, which ended with World War II. At the end of the war, worldwide displaced Israelis began to return to Palestine to forge a new nation, which enraged the Arabs who by now were a majority in the total population by a very small margin, and thus was cast the anchor in the present Arab-Israeli confrontation.

At the end of the 19th century, labor and management relations began to decline under the philanthropic colonization of Edmond de Rothchild and continued at such a low ebb that farmers began to desert the farmland in Israel. The first decade of the 20th century of national owned farms failed, resulting in the farms being handed over to groups of workers which is known as Kibbutzim. As an experimental project Kibbutzim came into being as the first collective farm in 1910. By 1959, 53% of Israeli working population lived in cooperative settlements. There existed 838 villages, out of which 592 were cooperative settlements and 228 were kibbutizim (Darin-Drabkin, 1962).

PRAGMATIC IMPLICATIONS OF KIBBUTZIM

In 1928, it was estimed that there were 15,000,000 Judaic people scattered throughout Europe, Eurasia, and America, while only 1% lived in Palestine (Levinger, 1942). Today the census in Palestine or Israel is estimated at 3,690,000. Whether a nation is old, new or emerging, the children are more alike than different. Whether a nation is poor, like Israel or rich like America, it is noteworthy that the old can learn from the young, the rich can learn from the poor, and it is with respect that we look at the Israeli Kibbutz: that segment in world society that has no delinquency and America no counterpart.

When one speaks of delinquency in the Kibbutz one must try to understand what the word No means in our society and what the word No means in the Kibbutz society. For example, there was no automobile thefts in Kibbutzim for over a year (1968-69). If one case of car thief in Kibbutzim was over a year ago, Kibbutz officials would say that this is frequent delinquency. By American definition and comparison this amounts to no delinquency (Bettelheim, 1969). In America it is the current belief that there are no delinquent children, but delinquent parents. Often children in America are not aware of the deep wrong they do themselves and others when they run away, lie, steal or perform other delinquent acts. Overwhelming severe censure is more apt to force a child into more delinquent acts rather than be corrective. It is upon this notion that Parents' Institute, 1951 believed that severe censure may be attached to acts of

sex delinquency, feelings of inferiority, money squandering, and other thoughtless acts of "simply shaming the family. "It is believed that much delinquency in America can be dispelled with consistent (just) methods of discipline, love, understanding, and pro ection.

Issues may be taken with any or all the causes of delinquency. In the Kibbutz, the children receive love and understanding from all much delinquency in America can be dispelled with consistent (just) methods of discipline, love, and understanding from all adults and children whom he comes in contact. As for his education, we may idenfity it as Essentialistic. "In the view of most Essentialist; education is necessary not so much for the welfare of each individual as for the welfare of society in general. Its cost should be regarded as an investment from which the people have the right of receiving a commensurate return" (Hillway, 1961).

KIBBUTZIM LA BELLE INDIFFE'RENCE TO EDUCATION PHILOSOPHIES

The Kibbutzim has found no ultimate educational philosophy, but it has succeeded in producing a new social order which is more easily tolerated. What they have found is a temporary workable philosophy. They have been as electic as any nation, and in doing soso probably rejected what Herman Horne refers to as idealism in education. For example, his notion that the measure of a man: has the "physique of an athlete, the reason of the scientist and philosopher, the feeling of the poet, the imagination of the prophet and the inventor, and the will of the reformer" (Park, 1958). Since idealist philosophy violates the basic philosophy of communal living, causes the Kibbutz school to be a function of the community, which in effect seems nct to be ideal if goals are toward education and not indoctrination. Subsequently, education is a by-product in

the society-centered social order, whose primary aim is not to educate for the sake of education, but to teach self discipline in order that the individual may fit in the group; with group aims, such as might be found in parochialism.

SOME (SELECTED) EDUCATIONAL GOALS FOR KIBBUTZNIKS:

I. Work:

a. for the approval of age mates
b. early growth of self-reliance
c. for Kibbutz: the provider
d. service to state

II. Social Relations:

a. respect for group
b. concern for welfare as a group
c. readiness to contribute for good of Kibbutz

III. Implications:

a. group approval equals survivial
b. love of group without imtimacy

KIBBUTZIM AS EXAMPLE CHANGE OF SOCIETY

"Kibbutz founders rebelled against the double standard for men and women and the traditional structure of the Jewish family" (Rabkin, 1969). Traditionally, women and children were subserviant to the jewish male, excluding women form socio-economic and cultural life. Subsequently, marriage by contract was replaced by marriage by consent. The collective kitchen, collective clothing supply, and collective child rearing freed the mother to persue full socio-economical and cultural roles. This is by no means such a revolutionary notion as Swedish and Danish group marriage phenomenon; "hem-

manan," husband stays home and keeps the children while his wife goes out to work, nor is Kibbutzim as revolutionary as the Vaeregrogaarden or child care centers which affords unwed mothers to lead independent lives. Swedish and Danish psychologists claim that Vaeregrogaaden children emerge better balanced than children who grow up cooped up with the housewife. Years of social legislation and agitation for women to assert their rights has led to social attitudes of acceptance of unwed mothers and subsidization by the state. The respectable revolutionary notion of Scandinavian sexual attitudes.

FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW ORDER

We know that the kibbutz rejects in totus Western philophies which are in the main religistic and individual centered. Durant (1927) responded to the dilemma of childrearing this way:

> "Well then what is to be done? We must begin by sending out into the country all the inhabitants of the city who are more than ten years old, and by taking possession of the children, who will thus be protected from the habits of their parents. We cannot build Utopia with young people corrupt at every turn by the example of their elders... In any case we must give to every child from the outset, full equality of educational opportunity... We cannot afford to have a nation of malingerers..." (Durant, 1927).

The pilosophy of Plato is one such philosophy that Kibbutz life is more closely aliened, probably leaning a little to the "scientific socialism" of Marx and Engles (Overstreet, 1958), who felt compassion and guilt for the countless fellow humans not being relieved from mass misery. They found no institution, religious or secular that

sought a new society; a social archetype for all humanity. Kibbutzim did not let Utopian notions become their major model, but they found a stimulus level that could accept the past and project the future. Whether adventitiously or by design, Kibbutzim followed Plato's Utopian model such as: 1) rural setting, 2) Kibbutziks turned over to metaplot (teacher) 5 days after birth, 3) Kibbutzim maintain the only free educational system (kindergarten through university) in Israel (Bettelheim, 1969).

THE USE OF RELIGION IN THE KIBBUTZIM CURRICULUM

Religion can become an influencing factor in forming personality, with harmony it can direct activities without becoming the dominamt factor in life. On the other hand religion can become the dominant factor in all life experiences. The latter, with a commitment to the ideal social principles of Judaism comprises Israeli religious Kibbutzim. In other words, the educational aspects of Kibbutzniks emerged as a response of a religious people to realize their national, social, and religious aims.

The founders of Kibbutzim carved a Gan Eden in which all children are so much in harmony with their environment that they believe that the rest of the world behaves as they do in their ideal settlement. The religious training as well as education is left to the Kibbutz school. The curriculum is based on rural religious school programs in accord with the Ministry of Education. In the religious Kibbutzim, children enter collective education at the age of 18 months. They see their parents only on weeksends and religious holidays. So completely in harmony, children are so deeply influ-

enced by the collective emotional attitudes towards religion that they learn willingly, and the family acts as a reinforcer of pursuing ends of their religious experiments.

The Kibbutzniks begin to work, starting with a two hour workday at the age of five, and is increased as they grow older. School does not preclude work, and in addition to daily schedules may be required to spend several days at a time engaged in work. Of the approximately thirty-five hours a week spent in 12 years of school the curriculum consists of knowing the Torah, some knowledge of the Prophets, Midrashic literature, a study of the Talmud of his own choosing, a broad humanistic education, history, literature, social sciences and the English language. He also must be a specialist, well grounded in agriculture or a craft.

In the event that the Kibbutznik does not go on to secondary school all this must be accomplished in eight grades. Whether he goes on to higher education depends heavily on his acquisition of religious knowledge of the Torah. The urban secondary schools prepares the student for the Matriculation Examination, while the Kibbutz student is not prepared with the Mateiculation Examination as the eventual goal. However, the outstanding students are given the opportunity to prepare for the examination and only a small percent pass, and go on to the Yeshive University for a year during the 9th and 12th year of education. By the 18th year of life the Kibbutznik is ready to fullfill his national military duty. It is noteworthy that the religious reared Kibbutnik took on military service as part of Zionist living. They are reported to be the most

aggressive and often volunteer for the dirtiest assignments (Fishman, 1957).

THE COMMUNAL AS AN AGRICULTURAL-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

The Kibbutz is only one of several types of collective villages. Two other major types are the Moshav Ovdim, and the Moshav Shitufi. Regardless to whether the model is co-operative or private the ultimate goal is a nationalistic effort devoted to Israel.

A Kibbutz is a group of individuals who have united for the purpose of establishing in Palestine a homeland for Jewish people based on socialistic principles. To achieve this goal, they have created mainly an agricultural, economic and social unit embodying the principles of complete equality, mutual responsibility, and personal labor. The ownership of private property had been abandoned and all production and consumption organized on a collective basis. The Kibbutz required every member to make his contribution according to his capacity, and allowed him to receive from the common village in which all property was owned in common by its members. The Moshave Ovdim was an organized society with a common aim and goal. It was based upon individual labor of the farmers with the aid of the members of their families. Their way of life was governed by prescribed social principles, among the most important of which are: (1) National ownership of the soil, (2) Personal labor, (3) Mutual aid and cooperative marketing of produce and purchase of supplies and equipment. The Moshav Shitufi was a type of village where consumption was individual, but agricultural production was on a collective basis and the degree & kind may vary from village to village. In some of these Moshavin Shitufim all branches of farming were conducted collectively, in others this was not so. Collectivism in some villages was the case only in major agricul-

tural branches. Moshavaan was ordinary villages with individual farms on privately owned land, with or without hired labor, where membership in co-operative societies was not obligatory (Halperin, 1963).

It was perceived that collective societies may aid in opening up new land in Africa and Asia. They may profit from the Israeli experiment. But the Israeli government is also constantly seeking new inovations to further develop the collective settlements into a more unified competative system. Hiam Halperin developed his visionary "Agrindus" thesis which was welcomed enthusiastically by the Regional Councils of the Israeli Ministry of Interior. The main purpose of the "Agrindus" was to bind cooperation between the large groups of neighboring villages for agricultural services, such as, marketing, processing and establishing factories. This theory was worth mentioning since it had been put into practice in Israel. The Halperin theory was extended to include cultural, sporting facilities, health, and educational facilities. (Halperin, 1963). Halperin outlined in his theme some 30 points in his "Agrindus" theory. They may be simply stated, that the village (whether Kibbutz operated, privately owned, or a collective settlement) would be grouped to Village Group Centers, which would be grouped to Urban Centers, which are grouped and tied to the nation of Israel (Darin-Drabkin, 1962).

These centers are not to be confused with cooperative marketing and purchasing in America which came into being in 1912. By survey it was found that by 1913 there were 3,099 American cooperatives. The number increased to 12,499 by 1923, but had decreased to only 6,489 by 1953. An agricultural cooperative in America is a business association only, owned and operated by its members. The cooperative operates for business benefits, are passed on to individual members in occordance to his participation in the cooperative (U.S. Agriculture, 1955). This kind of collective behavior is "public opinion" over a controversal issue. Neither should this collective behavior be confused with other value-orientated movements designated under guise labels such as: nativistic movements, sect formations, religious revolutions, political movements, national movements, and utopian movements (Smelser, 1964).

Wherever men live together there have always been groups who have sought to achieve socially desired living varying in degree, in national, political, religious, and utopian revolution. Co-operative group living is not exclusively tied to socialist or communist ideologies, although co-operative group living seems to work better when these ideologies are present. Nevertheless, co-operative group living has been tried in England, China, French, North Africa, Germany, Canada, Mexico, Russia, Israel, Scandinavia, and America.

HOW THE KIBBUTZNIK IS ROOTED IN HIS COMMUNITY AND THE ISRAELI SOCIETY

The kibbutzniks are entrusted to one or more mothering figures as early as five days old in some Kibbutzim, and as late as three years old in others. Kibbutzim range in degree from left wing to right wing in ideology, from community owned to privately owned, from non-religious to religious in orientation. Israeli Kibbutzim may vary slightly, but in the main each Kibbutznik is ..."Rooted in his community and the larger Israeli society." (Rabin, 1969).

When the Kibbutznik was placed with age mates the family triangle was relieved of strained relationships after long days of hard work, and when the daily visits by parents each day took place under intimate, ideal, tender conditions. There was one metapelet (nurse and teacher) assigned to every four kibbutznik, and there were sixteen Kibbutzniks assighed to each Kibbutz or house. Kibbutzniks were never alone and never unsupervised.

The Kibbutznik soon learned that love and gratification between himself and his parents was much less than from all the children in the collective. He soon learned self-reliance, and that to show emotions was to show selfishness, to show selfishness was to be contrary to the Kibbutz or age mates who were the true providers. Through group pressure table manners, cooperation, companionship, recreation, and security was easily achieved. In the Kibbutz there was no rape, no child beating, no police, no delinquency, no drop-outs, little or no emotional disorders other than birth trauma, and there was no emotional deprivation if parents died. The Kibbutznik was not controlled by smiles or fights over

place or possessions, they were not exposed to "primal scenes" between parents, therefore, there was no oedipal complex to work through, and they did not suffer from anxiety or fear of desertion.

All the aforementioned seems ideal and worthwhile achievements, but one may not wish to pay the high fee of repression of the individual to the group will. Many Kibbutzniks did leave the Kibbutz; but found that they felt guilty for desiring the pleasures of the outside world. Once outside they were unable to make simple decisions, such as what dress to buy, or what movie to attend. They soon became so anxious, insecure and guilty for rejecting their parents way of life that they returned to the Kibbutz (Bettelheim, 1969).

One aim of Kibbutzim was the settling of the land, and creating a working class of human power where men and women would share equally the agricultural and military burden. Another aim of kibbutzim was education in isolation from the influences of the non-Kibbutz world.

Beit-Hallabmi and Rabin (1978) reported that the second generation of Kibbutz born were more pragmatic and less idealistic than their parents. The most recent trend is a consumeristic lifestyle. They aim for a higher standard of living, greater freedom of career choices, and individual success. In addition, women are returning to traditional roles of family caretaker and are withdrawing from the role of collective caretakers.

Beit-Hallahmi and Rabin (1978) reported on research on the Kibbutz child-rearing system. As to prevelance to psychopathology in Kibbutz children. Kaffman[1] found no prevelance and Nevo found no difference between Kibbutz born and city-born adults on the California Psychological Inventory.[2]

Devereux et al. ;[3] Rabin; [4] and Spiro [5] support the claim that the Kibbutizim father had become more nurturant and less authoritarian compared to the father in the traditional family. In addition, Devereux et al. reported that peers in the Kibbutz were perceived as secondary to the parents and there was no difference from city children in respect to strong feelings of solidarity and group identity.

[1]A Comparison of Psychopathology: Israeli Children from Urban Surroundings. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1965, 35, 509-520.

[2]Personality Differences Between Kibbutz Born and City-Born Adults. American Journal of Psychology. In Press.

[3]Socialization Procedures of Parents, Teachers, and Peers in Israel: The Kibbutz versus the City. Child Development, 1974, 45, 269-281.

[4]Growing Up in the Kibbutz. N. Y.: Springer, 1965.

[5]Children of the Kibbutz. Boston: Harvard U. Press, 1958.

SUMMARY

Kibbutzim in Israel projected a revolutionary image of child-rearing of entrusting children to a mother - substitute. Israeli Kibbutzim is over 70 years old, it was voluntary, primarily agricultural collective settlement of community owned property, and collective economic production. The Kibbutz motto was: "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."

Inspired by the Zionist dream the Israelis were desirous to formulate a society, "free of prejudice that closed the world they had left behind, dedicated to full social and political equality." Kibbutzim contributed one third of the army officers to the military, and a disproportionate share of political leaders, including former Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, the late Levi Eshkol, and General Moshe Dayan (Rabkin, 1969).

It seems that the early start in life helped the Kibbutznik resolve his adolescent conflicts, but in the main, Kibbutzim did not prepare Kibbutzniks to live outside the Kibbutz where they must make decisions (Bettelheim, 1969). Kibbutzim had no conflict of goals or conflict over curriculum. The system pushed one kind of development while it limited another.

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